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ANTI-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA IN HISPANIC AMERICA ¹

Through all stages of his evolution man seems to have striven to monopolize the largest obtainable share of things he prized, for the smallest number possible. The logical result of complete success in this would be subjection of all peoples to one autocrat. This was believed to be the design of the powers that prepared through years for and at last started the world war.

Autocracy kept Spanish America closed through three hundred years against all others, except a few of its favorites; for centuries autocracy has striven, in many lands and in divers ways, to put an end to democracy, the natural opponent of monopoly. In the New World, for more than a century, powers autocratic in their nature have striven to check if they could not wholly stop the growth and spread of democracy. Autocracy has carried on in Hispanic America a campaign directed mainly against that democracy of the North which has, for an ideal purpose, the securing of the greatest practicable good to the largest possible number.

As a whole this ages-old war has been disastrous to autocracy, which has been driven from field after field. Its defeats have been most destructive where it has been the more ruthless, as in Russia. Yet conservatives, reactionaries and mercenaries persist in striving to check, even if they know they can not long stop democracy's advance. These opponents do not show that they comprehend that this advance is an inevitable step in the evolution of mankind, nor that all who will not or can not keep pace with that march must be trampled into dust.

¹ The present article is part of a very vast subject of which much has been heard during the last five years. The editors of this REVIEW believe that the Doctrine of Pan Americanism is well worth the study of every American of North and South America. Hence no apology is offered in publishing an article that may not, perhaps, in all its parts be strictly called historical.—J. A. R.

Exposure of the cause of the antagonism of autocracy toward the New World democracies, and of its real designs against them, was volunteered in 1906 by Klaus Wagner, a German writer in terms quoted as follows:

Slowly, not hastily, we people of Germanic blood must proceed in the settlement of the lands which are to be ours in the future. . . . By right of war [conquest by arms] the non-Germanic [people] of America and Great Australia must be settled in Africa. . . . By right of war we can send back the useless South American Romance peoples, and the half-breeds to North America. . . . The lands will be settled upon by people of Germanic blood, the non-Germanic inhabitants driven into reservations, or at best to Africa [Algiers, Egypt, Morocco, Tunis].

Tannenberg, another German writer, offered public evidence in phrases translated as:

The German settlements in South Brazil and Uruguay are the only rays of light in this dismal picture of South American civilization. Here dwell 500,000 Germans, and it is to be hoped that in a reorganization of South American conditions after the peoples of Latin and Indian mixture are quite ruined by bad management the immense plains of the Plate, with the coast in the west, the east and the south, will fall into the hands of the German people. . . . It is truly a miracle that the German people did not long ago resolve on seizing that country.

Some years before the publication of the above citation, Dr. Otto Hötsch, professor of history at the royal academy in Posen, and in the war academy in Berlin, uttered the following:

The question whether the German element there [in South America] will turn to Germany or to the United States will be determined in a few years; and it will depend upon the position which Germany takes in fostering church and school.

The learned professor said in the same publication:

The most dangerous foe of Germany in this generation will prove to be the United States.

Count von Goetzen, said to have been a personal friend of the German Kaiser, was quoted at the close of the war to liberate Cuba, and before those witnesses told the purposes of Germany as follows:

The Monroe Doctrine will be taken charge of by us, as we shall then have put you [North Americans] in your place, and we will take charge of South America as far as we want to.

Gustav von Schmoller, said to be the most distinguished of German historians in the field of economics, was quoted as saying:

We must desire that, at any cost, a German country containing 20,000,000 or 30,000,000 Germans may grow up in the coming century in south Brazil—and that, too, no matter whether it remains a part of Brazil, becomes an independent State, or enters into close relations with our Empire. Unless our connection with Brazil is always secured by war-ships, and unless Germany is able to exercise pressure there, our development is threatened.

That such plain suggestions were heeded was indicated by the reports published in 1915 by the press of Hispanic America, to the effect that large stores of munitions, together with detailed plans for a German uprising in and seizure of Santa Catharina, in southern Brazil, had been discovered.

Had Germany not begun the world war in Europe, and had the Germans in a part or in all of the adjacent republics of Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay joined those of Brazil in setting up a new government in the province of Santa Catharina, that new government might have had from Germany even more prompt recognition, if that were possible, than the Republic of Panamá had from an administration of the United States. Following the precedent set by that administration, a German squadron might have been near the ports of those republics, ready to support the government of a new South American republic. Any man may answer for himself the question whether the people of the United States could, under such conditions, have been induced or even driven into war against Germany and the new republic.

Well informed Hispanic Americans have said that the Monroe Doctrine has been, through a century, a bulwark that kept European monarchies from depriving the republics of the South of their territorial and of other rights. It saved the Bay Islands and part of the Mosquito Shore to Honduras, and induced Great Britain to give up its claim to domination over the east coast of Nicaragua, and later to abandon its claim to additional territory near the Orinoco. It induced Germany to forego the attempt to acquire the Isla Margarita of Venezuela, and of a port of Santo Domingo. On other occasions it prevented despoiling of Hispanic America by European powers. Perhaps no attempt at this was more dangerous than was the plan against Brazil.

These facts suggest some of the basic causes of the anti-American propaganda that has been carried on diligently, persistently, and through years, in most parts of Hispanic America and with what seemed to be success. Inability to keep Hispanic Americans from giving more and still more of their trade to the United States, and fear that most of that trade will come to the Big Republic because of the determination of its citizens to give the best practicable service to buyers, may have led Europeans to support this propaganda liberally.

As to the fairness of citing evidence offered by eminent Germans: it is not denied that any such subject of their Empire would no doubt have been punished, in person or through family, friends or property, had his evidence displeased the rulers of that Empire. Therefore evidence given by them may fairly be accepted as representing truly the feelings, the intentions and the deeds of those rulers and of the people as a whole.

That exposure of Germany's designs, by her own witnesses of good standing, and later accounts of her savage dealings with peaceful neighbors and with neutral people, apparently convinced Hispanic America that such propaganda of anti-Americanism is an attack upon the welfare of everyone who works in any forest or on any farm, in factory or in mine, in office or in public service, in any part of the New World, and of all who depend on any of these for anything. Such attacks injure all natives of the Americas, for they tend to restrict purchases of products of prop-

erty and of industries, thus delaying the natural and just rise of these products and properties, and help to keep down wages and living conditions.

To help in this war against the people of the United States authors of articles for the periodical press, of pamphlets, and of books, have been employed. Lecturers and plaza and street agitators also had part in this work. Many were extravagant in their efforts to win approval from employers; most were obviously ignorant of the character and designs of the people of the United States. This caused well read, reasoning, and honorable Hispanic Americans to doubt the truth of many of the allegations made by the propagandists. For illustration of this attitude, Dr. J. A. Arias of Santa Rosa, Honduras, said in an article published early in 1914:

Much has been written and declaimed about the imperialistic tendencies of the North American government. By press, by popular tribune, by propaganda in clubs and associations, they have endeavored to arouse and inflame Central Americans to protest energetically against views and designs for protectorates in the five small parts of the country left to us by our forefathers.

The people have been brought to such exaltation that they are ready to defend with their lives the autonomy of their country. In the heat of their patriotism they have gone far, very far; they have reached injustice.

None has asked: Who are the initiators, who are the patrons and supporters of this charge of danger? Still less has any asked: Who were the generators of such nefarious ideas? Opinion has been stirred up against a people, prejudice has been created against a nation and hate of a race has been fomented. With the fear and the passion of advocates they have judged, condemned and sentenced. Thus they have committed injustices.

An anti-Yankee campaign has been made, ill feeling has been created against the American people. We curse them, pursue them, wish our people to hate them; our school children to grow up detesting a nation; cultivating prejudices against a race. Yet it is well known that that people, that race, has of its own will done us no harm. More, although it shames us to confess it, that nation has saved us, to the regret and in spite of some of our own representatives and arbiters.

Our own citizens have aided the enemy in this work. One news service in the United States cabled daily to the Hispanic American newspapers items that were mainly about crimes committed, divorces, and scandals and follies of society. Cultivators of hostility toward the people of the "Octopus of the North" cited this matter as proof that those people were criminals, salacious, and ungodly. Protests brought from editors the answer:

"Why should we imagine that this matter is unfair? It is chosen by American editors for a press association. Would they send it if it were not true?

"It may be true, yet be unjust as to the millions. Besides, the names given in most instances indicate an origin in eastern Europe."

A protest to Mendoza, then President of Panamá, brought an immediate order that such matter should no longer be given prominence by *El Diario de Panamá*, an organ for the government. Mention of this subject was all that was needed to lead the then principal owner and general manager of the *Panama Star and Herald* and of *La Estrella de Panamá* to stop such use of the harmful matter.

Publishers in the United States have helped the anti-American propaganda, to the injury of those manufacturers, carriers, and merchants whose money for advertising helped to pay contributors, editors and printers of jests, quips, and stories, articles on international affairs, books of travel and of description, and novels intended to amuse. There have been two glaring examples of the more offensive of such recent books. One book tells that its author tramped through Mexico and Central America and, in some instances, received such treatment as the hobo might have from the kindly disposed in the United States. Another such work was seemingly intended to irritate even more the people of South America. Offensive moving pictures shows have helped the enemies of the peoples of the New World, by picturing the Hispanic Americans as opera bouffe actors, as treacherous villains or as assassins.

Men supposed to be speaking for the people of the United States, have done like harm to business interests of those people; as when in a speech to the Senate at Washington a member passionately criticized the government of Nicaragua. An official printed copy of that speech was taken to a citizen of the Greater Republic, by a friendly member of Zelaya's cabinet, who said:

The President would like to have a translation of this speech. I think you'd rather do it than have it go to folk not friendly to American interests. They'd put the worst construction on it, instead of trying to soften its acrimony.

Two evenings later that Minister of Public Works said, after he had smoked his after-dinner cigar on the balcony of the American:

That speech by your Senator cost a New York company the sale of the iron for twenty miles of railway. I have orders to buy the iron in Germany.

Perhaps every considerable town in Hispanic America, and many a town in the United States, has one or more persons who are eager to show to influential people in the southern countries any utterance irritating to their citizens and that may be attributed to any publication in the United States. Five or six years ago such utterances would have been quoted as proof that the people of the North were intolerant and contemptuous in their opinions of those of the South.

This operated, directly or indirectly, to injure all industries of North America by inclining buyers to purchase from those who were seemingly more considerate and friendly than the North Americans appeared to be.

All democracies hold that freedom of the press is essential to the education, the development and the liberties of the whole people. This was probably the reason for the tolerance shown toward even the most unfair and intemperate of those who worked for the foes of North American interests in Hispanic America. Part of that work appeared in a publication of a volume of nearly 400 octavo pages, early in 1914. Its title is

Labor Hondureña por la Autonomía de Centro-América, and its alleged publisher was La Liga de la Defensa Nacional Centro-americana. In a preface to this volume is the following:

Among other documents of real importance this publication includes a large number of records of protests raised by almost all the towns of Honduras, against Yankee imperialism in Central America. With the passage of time these will undoubtedly have historic merit.

Another paragraph of that preface gives light upon the attitude of the government of Honduras, toward the anticipated intervention in Mexico and the protectorate in Nicaragua, in 1913, which was the declared reason for asking for these "actas de protestas." That paragraph says that:

Because of this I believe that the government should shut its ears to the clamor of anti-patriotism, hear the voice of the national conscience and be the safeguard of the rights of all.

A suggestion as to what may have been the real, if undeclared causes of the publishing of this *Labor Hondureña*, may be in the following utterances (p. 304):

Are they unaware that we could agree upon *certain* treaties with European powers, one of which has already offered negotiations not to be despised, and that in a given case we should accept without vacillation.²

Do they [the people of the United States] not know that our goodwill has limits; that we could boycott American trade, and shut our market to its products; that we could with indignation reject all friendly intercourse, all business, with their citizens?³

In that volume (p. 330) the Liga urged that:

The governments of Central America should subsidize transatlantic steamship lines to bring to Central America from old Europe its manu-

² Ignoran que podemos ajustar *ciertos* Tratados con potencias europeos, una de las cuales ha hecho ya gestiones poco despreciables, que en caso dado aceptaríamos sin vacilar? (*Labor Hondureña*, p. 304.)

³ No saben que nuestra bondad tiene límites, que lo pronto podemos boicotear las mercaderías americanas, podemos cerrar nuestro mercado a sus productos, podemos rechazar con indignación todo trato, todo negocio con sus subditos? (*Ibid.*, p. 304.)

factured products, that are more polished, finer and of better quality than the American goods and are, moreover, lower in price; because artisans in the United States lack the classic style, and their wages are high, consequently the prices of their products also are high.⁴

This work is cited chiefly to illustrate the power of publicity in Central America. The volume gives what are said to be "actas de protests" or resolutions protesting against intervention in Mexican affairs and a protectorate in Nicaragua by the United States. With each of these protests were printed the names of those who were said to have subscribed. They were asked to raise voluntary offerings for the cause. These were to be two dollars yearly for capitalists of the first class, one dollar a year for those of the second, and fifty cents a year for those of the third class.⁵ Desire to see their names in print may have influenced some to subscribe, and thus help pay the expenses of the campaign against Americans. Some twenty articles were contributed to this volume, fully half of them by lawyers, of whom one was a member of the supreme court and two had held the office of president of the republic. The expressions of these were moderate and sustained by the evidence, therefore seemed reasonable and unlike the impassioned charges in the other contributions, including most of the "actas."

This was one only of the books written to help the propaganda mentioned, that labored and still works to set the democracies of the Western World against each other, thus to help that project of subjugating Hispanic America avowed by Germany, that the

⁴ Los gobiernos de Centro América deben subvencionar líneas de vapores trasatlánticas para que visiten nuestros puertos y traigan los productos fabriles de la vieja Europa, que son más pulimentados, finos y de mejor calidad que los americanos, unidas tales condiciones al más bajo precio de la mercancía; pues, en los Estados Unidos todavía no existe el clásico estilo de los artistas, los jornales son altos, por consiguiente, los productos recargados desde sus precios originales. (*Ibid.*, p. 330.)

⁵ Que este Club que se ha organizado con fines de alto patriotismo, excite a las municipalidades de la República para que en juntas populares inquieran de sus respectivos vecindarios si están de acuerdo en que se levante una suscripción voluntaria de dos pesos anuales para capitalistas de primer clase, un peso de los de segunda y cincuenta centavos para proletarios, con el objeto de formar un fondo que se denominará "Fondo de Defensa Nacional." (*Ibid.*, p. 300.)

South Americans might be deported to Africa, and their broad and rich countries be possessed by German masters. The plan is on the old and obvious principle that a house divided against itself shall not stand—a scheme so ancient and so often used, with disastrous consequences to the people beguiled by it, that no reasonable excuse for being so misled can now exist.

Ugarte, an Argentino journalist and author of more than a dozen books, says in his *El Porvenir de la América Latina* (p. 155) that:

The United States, formed by a gathering of cold and reasoning people, have developed in accord with their origin, inventiveness, and a feverish life of unbounded industry. South America, where the Latin element predominates, has taken other courses that are neither superior nor inferior; that are simply different.

He tells his readers that:

Under Spanish rule South America was as a frozen sea, in which the intellect was suffocated. A flutter of ideas was enough to alarm the submissive multitude; the Mother Country was as a god of immobility and of terror, and although the spirit of revolt triumphed later, we must confess that tradition succeeded in preserving its influence over multitudes, in spite of rising passions and mutiny.⁶

On another page of the same volume the author says of the South Americans:

The natives, rebellious in the major part against industry, can rarely oppose a national product to the invading product, or an initiative of their own to that of the foreigner, and with the exception of some extremely fertile lands that will maintain themselves upright in the vorrices of hurricanes, we witness the lamentable spectacle of half a continent lost to the Latin Americans, for whose effeminacy will have been substituted the vertigo of Yankee activity.

⁶ Bajo la dominación española, la América del Sur fué un mar de hielo, donde se ahogaban los espíritus. Un aletear de ideas bastaba para amedrentar a la multitud sumisa. La Metrópoli se impuso como un dios de la inmovilidad y del miedo. Y aunque el espíritu de la revolución triunfó más tarde, hay que confesar que, aun en medio del motín creciente de las pasiones, la tradición logró conservar su influencia sobre las muchedumbres. (Manuel Ugarte, *El Porvenir de la América Latina*, p. 204.)

Within ten or fifteen years after a few American promoters come among us, to diffuse their national traits in our America and, pacifically, with smiles on lips and pens in checkbooks, acquire mines and forests, erect factories to give new form to raw products, make canals and multiply railroads, and extend their feverish ardor to the limits; when the natives of each country feel inferior in vigor, in spirit or courage and, after long struggles, give place to those who transform nations and make them prosper, thus establishing a certain right to political rule, then; and then only, shall we comprehend the initial error of Latin American orientation.⁷

A number of passages in the work quoted suggest that it was a product of a student rather than that of a special pleader. Therefore it is unlike a book ascribed to Vargas Villa, a Colombian novelist, who is credited with effusions in essence as below:

Wilson and Roosevelt have torn the glorious flag; they flaunt the insolent rag over the affliction of the Latin race of America, which they dream of exterminating, in the savage ferocity of their barbarous souls! English imperialism makes for civilization. Proof of this may be seen in great and prosperous India, in Egypt, in Australia and in Canada, rich and almost free. American filibusterism makes for brutality. Proofs of this are seen in the Filipinos, hunted like wild beasts; in the disappearing Hawaiians, in the despoiled natives of Panamá and in the Porto Ricans, compelled by oppression to emigrate. . . . Wherever the Englishman goes, a village is born; wherever the Yankee goes, a race dies.

⁷ Los nativos, refractarios en su mayor parte a la industria, rara vez podrán oponer un producto nacional al producto invasor o una iniciativa propia a la iniciativa extraña, y con excepción de algunos países fertilísimos que se mantendrán enhiestos en el vórtice de los huracanes, asistiremos al lamentable espectáculo de medio Continente perdido para los latinoamericanos, a cuya molición se habrá sustituido el vertigo de la actividad de los yanquis.

Dentro de diez o quince años, cuando cuatro o cinco hornadas de norteamericanos emprendedores se lancen a difundir su nacionalidad por nuestra América, y pacíficamente, con la sonrisa en los labios y el lápiz en el libro de *bank-notes*, adquieran las minas y los bosques, levanten las fábricas, construyan los canales, den forma a los productos, multipliquen las vías férreas y difundan su ardor febril hasta los confines; cuando los naturales de cada país se sientan inferiores en inventiva, en vigor, en esfuerzo razonado y tras largas luchas acaben por ceder el puesto a los que transforman a la nación y la hacen próspera, afirmando así cierto derecho a la dominación política, entonces, sólo entonces comprenderemos el error inicial de la orientación latinoamericana. (*Ibid.*, p. 155.)

Some who prize truth rather than poetic frenzy might ask whether this novelist ever learned that a number of people, from nearly every inhabited land on earth, found civilization, freedom and justice under the Yankee lead; that where the Yankee went some two hundred and fifty cities, that have 5,000 to 6,000,000 inhabitants each, were born; that there millions of people from other lands found homes quite as comfortable as they themselves saw fit to make, and riches enough to enable them to aid the needy upon call, and generously.

Writers of such attacks may have forgotten, or found it did not serve their purposes, to recall the fact that almost all movements which caused filibustering by citizens of the United States, were instigated, directed, and financed by Hispanic Americans, in part or wholly; that all such attempts are crimes, and that the government of the United States strives to prevent and to punish such offenses.

Señor Vargas Vila asks:

Who will warn Latin civilization, threatened with death in Europe that Calvary of the Latin race, about to disappear from America?

No race died because of the coming of the pioneers of the United States; the races that died here brought their own extinction by repeated and savage raids on people whose aim was to conquer the obstacles of the wilderness, and to convert its natural materials to the comfort and advancement of humanity. Those pioneers fought the barbarous Indians as the Mexican of Hispanic blood and civilization now fights to save his home and himself from Yaqui barbarism.

They who are really entitled to say they are of Latin race may not agree that its civilization is doomed to die. They may insist that its civilization is changing, as its natural evolution compels it to advance if it would not die. All may know that the Spanish form of that civilization claimed a large part of what is now the United States, and all the continents south of that, through three hundred years. Was it not Spanish notions of Latin civilization, and monopoly of industries, including commerce, or was it the Yankee idea of civilization, that kept Spanish America from

using to advantage its immeasurable advantages of location, climate, and natural riches? Let me quote Ugarte on this point. He says:

They that landed in the Indias were, with rare exceptions, rather a horde of ruined gentry, fugitive gamblers, and evildoers, and adventurers who, unable to live in their own countries, launched themselves, avid for booty, on the sea in an age of fanaticism and piracy, than the army of a nation.⁸

But as that author says, men and their acts are products of past years. In other words:

The years are so linked that deeds begin before they are done. No age lives by itself; all epochs live the life that the past imposes, and prepare for deeds that later generations will consummate.⁹

These give a glimpse at some means and methods used to plant, throughout Hispanic America, misunderstanding, suspicion and dislike and what was for years a real and strong dread of "Yankee expansionism", greed for territory and for control. Such feelings existed in considerable strength in many of the republics of the South until the year 1915, although the distinct declarations by President Wilson in his inaugural address seemed to do much to quiet such fears.

Effects of the diligent use of those means and methods against the interests of the North Americans were shown by many periodicals and books published in Hispanic America. They appeared in lectures and in soap-box orations, and in public "demonstrations of popular opinion", engineered by the propagandists. Of these propagandists in Central America a number were politi-

⁸ Por otra parte, lo que desembarcó en las Indias fué, con raras excepciones, más que el ejército de una nación, una horda de hidalgos arruinados, tahures perseguidos, malhechores en fuga y aventureros de baja estofa que, no pudiendo vivir en su patria, se lanzaban al mar, ávidos de botín, en una edad de fanatismo y de piratería. (*Ibid.*, p. 15.)

⁹ Los años se eslabonan de tal suerte que los hechos empiezan antes de haberse producido. Ninguna época vive por sí; todas realizan la vida que les impuso la anterior y preparan lo que consumará la siguiente. And he continues: "Sólo hemos encarado la realidad de ayer y la de hoy en cuanto ambos sirven para hacer fatal la de mañana." (*Ibid.*)

cal "emigrados" from Nicaragua, soldiers of fortune probably, or patriots for profit, from countries in which their friends had no power to give them offices of power and of gain.

A suggestion as to the real value of such demonstrations was seen in the Central Park, in the national capital of the republic of Honduras, one afternoon. A well built, good looking man followed by a train of boys just out of school marched to the base of the pedestal on which stands the statue of Morazán. From the stone step the General began shouting to the group about him, loudly enough to be heard by passing porters, muleteers, and idlers. They joined the schoolboys, and applauded cheerfully when the orator shouted such phrases as seem to be understood as signals for clapping of hands and cries of approval. Thirty or forty servants, lads from school, and laborers idling for an hour, made up what was described by an anti-American daily as "throngs of people". When the general wound up his speech three or four of the lads cried:

"Muerte a los Americanos!"

"Why, Carlos, I didn't know you hated us so!" I said to one of them. Carlos was puzzled awhile, then exclaimed:

"But we don't hate you! None of us do!" His fellows joined the protest.

"Well, then, you may have meant 'Death to the American Minister,' to his wife and daughters?"

"Never! Oh, never!" they cried. "No Hondureño could! Everybody knows that they are true friends of our country!"

"Then, when you cry 'Death to the Americans!' who do you mean?"

The boys looked questioningly at each other and at those of the crowd who had not followed the orator, until Carlos decided that:

"We mean the Yankees who will seize Mexico and Central America and make slaves of their people."

That seemed to satisfy the hearers, for several of them voiced approval of the explanation. The incident seems to illustrate fairly the attitude of Hispanic Americans generally, for they are almost without exception courteous and friendly to individual

citizens of Canada and of the United States, whom they meet and believe they understand; and this while they imagine that they hate the people who collectively make the "monstrous octopus of the North that will clutch with strangling tentacles the republics of the South"; that people Vargas Vila had in mind when he demanded:

Why not make Latin America see what in truth this race and people are? A lustful race, hostile and contemptuous; a countless people, false and cruel, insolent and depreciatory toward us, with monstrous ideas of their superiority, and an unbridled desire for conquest! . . . Such are the men of the North, descendants of the Norsemen, pirates of the Baltic who in crudely built boats crossed black waters, under misty skies, to pillage peoples.

One might justly suspect that the Colombian writer had in mind the Teutonic raids on northern Europe, and the origin of the Prussian people, for no one well read can be in these days ignorant of the fact that the people of the Greater Republic are descendants of the Dutch of Holland, of the French, the Italians, the Spanish, and many other races, besides the English. These mingled in the United States as so many different races mixed in no other part of the world to form a nation.

This long war against the interests of the New World has failed to induce Hispanic Americans to actual violence against persons or property of North Americans, except in Colombia and Mexico; but none can deny that impressionable youths, and men of little knowledge to whom excitement of almost any kind would be a welcome change from the monotony of dull and narrow lives, might reasonably be expected to attack, to injure bodily or even to kill persons against whom their passions may be kindled by reckless oratory. Hispanic Americans have said often and frankly, if not proudly in fact, that their races are impulsive, sentimental, even hotheaded, and thus quite unlike the North Americans, given to cold, clear analyses and logical reasoning. If this description of their peoples is true they should be very susceptible to such propaganda as was carried on there through the last twenty years or more.

A dispatch dated at Rio de Janeiro on June 17, 1919, told of renewed activity and vigor there in this fight against all American business and political interests. President Pessoa of Brazil was quoted, very soon after this was published in the United States, as saying:

The anti-American propaganda in some Brazilian newspapers does not in the least represent the sentiments of the people of Brazil.

Among those in the United States who were suspected of aiding that fight against all the Western World, particularly the United States, were foreign business wolves in sheeps' clothing. They had been furnished with charters, by one or other of several States the laws of which, relating to incorporating companies, may have had in view fees to be gained quite as much as the welfare of the public in general. Under such charter a concern might have invested in the United States a few dollars only, for the charter, for office equipment and rent, and no more. It could pass as a genuine American corporation. Any extortion, trickery, or other offense it might commit in another land would naturally be charged against the people of the land that gave it shelter and license to carry on business under protection of the United States. U. S. Minister Merry once told me that:

A drummer came to me in Managua, declared that he was an American citizen, working for an American corporation that had headquarters in New York, and that officials were holding his samples because of some tax or duty that was an extortion anyway. He demanded the assistance of the legation to obtain delivery of the cases.

I asked him when and where he was born, and he admitted that he was German. I asked him when and where he had become naturalized and why. He bluntly said that it was because it would enable him to demand aid by American consuls and ministers in other lands. Something I had heard made me tell the chap:

"If our consul and I don't help you out you can appeal to the German consul, you know. He'll help you, for one who is once a German is always a German, you know."

He admitted that he and many others acted upon that fact. They saw no reason for not doing what the American government permitted

without a word of objection. Such handmade citizens were thus doubly protected. When they had a complaint to make against a government, or a demand to present to it, they appealed for aid first to representatives of our government. They went to German ministers or consuls when they had no hope of other help.

Part of the strategy of the propagandists was that of those who shout: "Stop! Thief!" to divert attention from their own crime. They told Hispanic America that, as Ugarte had it: "The Eagle of the North will bury its talons in the vitals of Latin America, and devour it!" They asserted through years that "The Americans will, in their own time, seize each republic of the South; they will monopolize all its industries, fill all its offices, administer all its laws and thus reduce its citizens to a condition of peonage." José D. Gámez, then vice president of Nicaragua, said at dinner one day:

We don't really want the Americans to make the canal here; for if they get a canal zone here they'll spread over the whole country, become legal citizens, and in a few years take from us the control of our affairs.

While such allegations were being spread through Hispanic America, writers and publishers in Germany were telling their countrymen that they were soon to subjugate South America, occupy all its offices of honor and profit, and compel its natives to render to each German the homage due to his birth or his station. How dear to the heart of the average German this prospect may have been.

Many a time Hispanic Americans have been told that, instead of being designed as a bulwark against appropriation of their territory, the Monroe Doctrine was a dog-in-the-manger policy, planned and maintained to keep all others from taking countries which had been Spain's for centuries. The United States, they are told, advocates this policy, so that at its own pleasure it may take possession of these republics.

Declarations that the Monroe Doctrine is a vital right of the United States, that must and shall be preserved, stirs the anti-Americans to renewed avowals that the Doctrine means no more, nor less than "America for the Americans", in opposition to the

principle of "America for humanity", as the brilliant Dr. Drago happily phrased it—a wording that met instant and hearty approval by the millions of the northern as well as those of the southern continent of America.

Through generations before Spanish America was free, and afterward, the people of the United States practiced and established the principle thus stated by Doctor Drago. They held the doors of the Greater Republic open to people of every land and race, whether they were oppressed by poverty or by other conditions; and they invited all to share whatever opportunities the native born citizens of our country enjoyed.

It may be not widely known through Hispanic America that this almost unrestricted offer brought to the United States some who had been taught, by precept, by example, or by need, to take whatever they could get by any means. Old World conditions taught them greed, dishonesty, and servility, that tended to make them seek gifts that a native of the United States would disdain to accept, to lie about goods they sold, to commit crimes including assassination by stiletto or by bombs and arson that killed men, women, and children who had not offended the assassins. Others brought ruthless anarchy born of merciless oppression and nursed into vigor by repression by autocracy.

Compared with the whole number of those who found homes in the Greater Democracy the number of criminals who came was small. Because the offenses these committed against laws and morals were sensational they had much notice from the press. This would explain if it did not indeed justify the belief that the people of the United States, as a whole, were lawless boors, on a par with ill taught, servile peasantry of the lands whence these undesirable immigrants came. This helped to support accusations of many kinds against the people of the Big Republic of the North.

Many attacks upon the Monroe Doctrine were made in the interest of the powers that found that Doctrine an obstacle to their designs. As Hispanic Americans quite generally knew something of the truth about that Doctrine and its value to their countries, such denunciations helped the anti-Americanism very little.

None who saw the course of events in the republics of the South can reasonably doubt that events and propaganda created a real and rather vivid fear that the United States would, at times and under political control by predatory interests, assume direction of the public affairs of one after another of the sister republics. No evidence appears to indicate that they who labored to spread and cultivate such feeling were ignorant of the truth about the acquisition of territory by the United States, and unaware also of the fact that the truth can be learned in most good public libraries. Yet although the facts may be learned easily, the propagandists abstain from mentioning important elements of each such case.

In the cause of justice and fairer judgment, mention might well be made of the more important facts in each acquirement of territory by "The Octopus of the North".¹⁰ These may be summarized by a few figures and words, that show the area obtained, the source from which the territory came, and the compensation given in each instance or group of acquisitions. These data may be found in many publications, and may be presented as follows:

SOURCES	SQUARE MILES	COMPENSATION AFFORDED	
		Per square mile	Totals
Spain. Florida, etc.	72,101	\$69.35	\$5,000,000
Philippines.	118,671	169.04	20,100,000
Mexico.	559,859	32.65	18,250,000
Panamá.	436	37,224.77	16,250,000
Total Hispanic.	750,067	\$79.46	\$59,600,000
France.	827,897	\$18.51	\$15,440,000
Russia.	590,884	12.18	7,200,000
Texas, admitted.	389,166
Oregon.	286,541
Hawaii.	6,449	62,025.11	4,000,000
Denmark.	142	176,056.33	25,000,000
Samoa.	77
Total others.	2,101,246	\$24.57	\$51,640,000
General totals.	2,851,313	\$39.01	\$111,240,000

¹⁰ El pulpo monstruoso del Norte quiere extender sus asfixiantes tentáculos con indignidad diabólica, digna del más fuerte anatema, hacia estas desgredadas repúblicas del Centro, con el fin de hacerse descaradamente dueño y señor de ellas. (*Labor Hondureña*, Comayagua, 1914.)

These figures indicate that the United States were asked to pay, and did pay for 2,191,246 square miles, or 73.7 per cent of all territory acquired, 46.4 per cent of the whole compensation given. Yankee expansionism has often been accused of having wrested from Mexico 1,235,566 square miles of territory. This included the Oregon territory and Texas. On the other side it has been maintained that Texas was an independent republic, that held 389,166 square miles which, with the independence of the republic, had been secured by rebellion, as Mexico herself obtained her territory and sovereign existence by rebellion against Spain. It has been held, also, that Oregon was inhabited sparsely by nomadic bands of Indians who acknowledged no allegiance to Mexico; that the United States took possession and occupied that territory by reason of subduing the Indians, and that therefore the question of title was not open to dispute by Mexico, since she had never established dominion there. Referring to this Dr. A. Mariano de Elia, Consul General for Argentina in 1912, said in a public address in Tegucigalpa:

The United States declared ownership indisputable where *discussion was not admissible* upon the dominion over Oregon. Notwithstanding that they ceded to a potent foreign nation a right to establish colonies in that territory, putting this in the form of a treaty.¹¹

In the rest of the address by the Consul General were indications that the passage quoted might be taken as implying a question of the title of the United States to the territory of Oregon. So far as is commonly known they who insisted that the Octopus of the North will grasp each country of the South, and suck out its life, seldom if ever recalled to their audiences the truth about the foundation of the titles by which nearly all nations, including those of Hispanic America, hold their territory. H. G. Wells, the famous English author, tells us that after the discovery of the New World "Some one called The Pope is

¹¹ Declara EE. UU. de indiscutible propiedad donde no *era admisible la discusión* sobre el dominio del Oregon. No obstante esto, cede a una potente nación extranjera, establezca colonias en ese territorio, poniéndolo como marca la fórmula de un tratado. (A. Mariano de Elia, Consul General de Argentina, 1912.)

seen parceling out the continent among European powers". The statement suggests the query: By what right?

Ugarte says:

When Francis I furnished to the Florentine navigator Verrazani the means needed for going to colonize North America, and when the Spanish captain Pánfilo Narváez took possession, in the name of Charles V, of what is today one of the most beautiful States of the Union, it was not possible to foresee the birth, still less the power of the nation that was to expand without ceasing until, with the annexation of Louisiana in 1804, of Florida in 1819, of Texas in 1845, and of California and New Mexico in 1848, it attained an enormous development that has not been checked for an instant.¹²

From a day before man began recording his deeds down to the end of the great world war, most people held that conquest was a God-given right, and that it gave to the victors sound title to ownership of the territory occupied by the vanquished. Incidents following the recent peace conference at Versailles suggested that some if not most of the nations represented at that conference clung to that ages old belief. On that occasion the President of the United States strove faithfully to induce the peoples there represented to adopt the principle that armed conquest gives no sound title to property, except perhaps as just reparation for unwarranted injury done by the conquered. Practically all democracies of the New World have acted on that principle through decades.

The young democracy of the North was a mere infant when it began to pay for territory it might have been able to take by conquest. In 1819 the dollar paid to Spain on account of Florida was worth far more than a dollar is worth today, and the

¹² Cuando Francisco I proporcionó al navegante florentino Verrazani los medios necesarios para ir a colonizar la América del Norte, y cuando el capitán español don Pánfilo Narváez tomó posesión de lo que es hoy uno de los más hermosos Estados de la Unión en nombre de Carlos V, no era posible prever el nacimiento ni menos aún el poder de la gran nación que debía engrandecerse incesantemente hasta alcanzar con la anexión de la Louisiana en 1804, la de Florida en 1819, la de Texas en 1845 y la de California y Nuevo Mexico en 1848, el desarrollo enorme que no se ha detenido un instante. (Manuel Ugarte, *El Porvenir de la América Latina*.)

\$5,000,000 burdened the new republic more heavily perhaps than \$500,000,000 could now. After that purchase the newly established democracy of the North gave a high price for each territory it obtained from Hispanic American claimants.

Hispanic America has been told innumerable times that the Octopus of the North robbed Mexico of a vast territory. Had the United States refused to give to Mexico a centavo on account of that territory, who could justly charge that their title to it was not gained by means that were exactly the same as those used by Mexico to get its title to the same lands, and others? The official figures quoted above show that the people charged with being governed by dollar diplomacy, by greed for territory and for imperialistic expansion, gave to Spain and Spanish America more than three dollars for territory for each dollar paid, per square mile, to all others together. Yet those Spanish American lands were, in the main, already the property of the United States, according to the ages old law that is to this hour held to give good and honest title to territory. Until these truths shall have been widely understood throughout Hispanic America, its people may continue to sympathize with the feeling to which reference was made by a *Manifiesto de los Intelectuales Mexicanos en la Emigración*, in 1917. It said in effect:

Peoples who live contemplating the past, decay irremediably. Mexico can not be an exception, and we are sure of complying with one of our highest and strictest duties by making use of this solemn and decisive occasion, that scarcely in centuries will again present itself, to say to our compatriots that the future growth of Mexico requires us to abandon now the view of the disaster of '48 to gaze serenely forward, according to the beautiful expression of an illustrious Mexican: "without rancor for the past nor fears for the future".¹³

¹³ Los pueblos que viven contemplando el pasado, decaen irremediabilmente. Mexico no puede ser un excepci3n, y nosotros estamos seguros de cumplir uno de nuestros m1s altos y estrictos deberes aprovechando esta ocasi3n solemne y decisiva, que acaso en siglos no vuelva a presentarse, para decir a nuestros compatriotas que el futuro engrandecimiento de Mexico nos exige a partir ya la vista del desastre del '48 para mirar serenamente hacia adelante, segun la bella f3rmula de un Mexicano ilustre "Sin rencores para el pasado ni temores para el porvenir". (Querido Mohino, Cuba, 1917.)

The facts mentioned may be understood by American statesmen, journalists, and others, but few have appeared to put them before the millions plainly and often, thus to counteract the anti-American detail of the perpetual world war. Yet none can measure the harm already done to the interests of all people of North America by the war. None can say truly how much the industries of Hispanic America have been delayed by it, nor how great the danger that threatens them, from the persistent continuance of that struggle. The enemies of New World democracies no doubt have believed that their propaganda was profitable, else they would not have continued it through all the European conflict.

This persistence is despite the fact, that most gains from the propaganda seemed to be swept away, by discovery of the real purpose of the fight against the people of the United States, even in the few countries of Hispanic America where the national governments appeared subservient to German influences. Even in these far the larger part of the inhabitants, including many legislators, members of the cabinets, and other leaders of public opinion, showed ardent sympathy for the cause of the allied democracies, that included nearly or quite all nations having any Latin blood. Most of the twenty Hispanic American governments made their feelings known by cutting off their intercourse with the German Empire; some of them by declaring war against it; a few by trying to put armed forces into the battle in Europe.

On a number of occasions there were enthusiastic demonstrations of friendliness toward the citizens of the United States who appeared in the larger towns, as in Argentina, in Brazil, and in other republics of South America. This may be no more than natural, for from Tierra del Fuego to the Arctic practically all the civilized people are alike in their ideal of freedom, of the basic principles of democracy, of their rights and duties as to education, and of the right of each people to live its own life in its own way, so long as that does not violate the equal right of any other people. They are in the main alike in spontaneous, immediate, and liberal response to appeals for aid,

and to evidences of good will also. Fairer understanding by each race of the other races of these democracies would benefit all, and the press is of all known means at once the readiest and the most effective for bringing about such an understanding.

Good work has been done in this field already, and its effect has plainly shown that it is very beneficial. To counteract the propaganda against the people of the United States would probably require less outlay of labor and other capital than that propaganda costs, and should involve nothing that might sweep away its benefits as those from the anti-American efforts were swept; for the counter propaganda need use none other than easily established facts honestly presented, and supported by such superior service as the genuine North American strives without ceasing to give to those with whom he deals. These means will no doubt, if extended and continued, convert nearly every honorable and influential Hispanic American into an ardent, energetic, and persistent advocate and supporter of pan-Americanism, even though he may now be a believer in anti-Americanism.

EDWARD PERRY.